# A REFERENCE GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION

*By* HARWOOD L. CHILDS

*with a preface by*

EDWARD L. BERNAYS

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# A REFERENCE GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION

BY

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WITH A PREFACE BY
EDWARD L. BERNAYS

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## PREFACE

Universities of America are the repositories for a vast wealth of information, which awaits proper application to the social, scientific, and industrial activities of life. Unfortunately, the time lag between the discovery of scientific facts and their usage by the world at large is so great that rarely does knowledge get translated into action contemporaneously.

In part, this is due to the inertia of leaders who lean heavily on the technique of the past. I have watched foundations spend a million dollars to gather facts of vast importance to the entire public, and then, not having provided funds for making these facts available to the public, bury the results in neatly printed volumes for a few library shelves.

Princeton University, I am happy to observe, recognizes the fact that intellectual leadership implies a double function—the development of important facts and ideas, and the distribution of them to those people and organizations equipped to make use of them.

In formulating the thorough and scientific study of the subject of opinion management, as embraced in this volume, Professor Harwood L. Childs has placed under debt to him all those who come in contact with the field of public opinion management, whether they are students or concerned with practical work.

Professor Childs in this volume has placed valuable data before the entire public, since today public opinion plays so important a rôle that few people can say justly that they are not concerned with the subject.

EDWARD L. BERNAYS

*New York City.*

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Progress in solving political, social, and economic problems is contingent largely upon three things: first, painstaking and objective research in the field of the social sciences; secondly, cooperation between research workers, students, and practitioners in the world of affairs; thirdly, a wider dissemination of the findings of research studies among business, social, and political leaders. Within the past few years a new emphasis has been laid upon objective research in the social sciences by our American universities, but much of this work has proceeded without the active support and cooperation of those who, from a background of actual experience, could assist in turning the fruits of investigation to immediate use.

Mr. Edward L. Bernays is among those whose genius enables them to bridge the chasm between the laboratories of academic endeavor and the world of practice. Upon the occasion of a recent visit to Princeton when he delivered before the class in Public Opinion an address on public relations, Mr. Bernays showed a very generous interest in a bibliography and outline of study which I had prepared for the use of students in this course, and expressed the opinion that the material gathered was of sufficiently broad significance to be valuable to all concerned with the processes of democratic government. In consequence of Mr. Bernays' suggestion the publication of this volume has become possible, for the benefit of all students, both academic and practical, in the field of public opinion leadership. To him, therefore, I make grateful acknowledgment, not only for suggesting ways whereby research in this subject could be made of greater practical usefulness, but for facilitating the publication of this volume, which I hope will serve as a coordinating link between our academic program of scientific studies and the needs of those who are actually dealing with the forces of public opinion in this country.

This reference guide was prepared for use by students who were embarking for the first time upon a comprehensive study of public opinion. Its purpose was to classify and integrate the growing mass of material dealing with the subject rather than to evaluate current tendencies. Mr. Bernays' judgment as to its usefulness is distinctly encouraging to one who is quite as

much interested in the practical implications of his teaching, as in the objective search for new truths for their own sake. With the continuing support and cooperation of men active in business endeavors, the future of the scientific quest for ways of solving our perplexing problems seems bright.

HARWOOD L. CHILDS

*Princeton, New Jersey.*

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# INTRODUCTION

The study of public opinion has been undertaken by students in a variety of fields, such as history, sociology, psychology, social psychology, journalism, advertising, and politics. Numerous methods of approach and techniques have been employed, and points of view with reference to the scope, content, and objectives of such a study have differed. The body of information relating to the subject has now reached such proportions that it seems desirable to attempt a tentative classification of it. A survey of the entire field of investigation will suggest not only the multiplicity of interest-objectives, but also the fact that certain phases have received a disproportionate amount of attention, and other aspects almost none. The fact that the study of public opinion has been undertaken by students equipped with such a varying supply of techniques, indicates that one entering upon the study must be prepared to ignore to some extent traditional categories of academic learning and venture resolutely across more or less crystallized lines of departmental distinction. At the same time, however, it affords the adventurer an opportunity to take advantage of whatever methodological inventions may have been discovered in related fields.

The aims of an introductory study of this nature are to acquaint the student with the literature in the field, with the objectives that have enlisted the interest of students from different fields, with the more important problems that challenge investigation and solution, and with the various techniques that may be employed in treating a subject, such as this, in the arena of the social sciences. For those who may find that the study lacks finality and completeness, it is necessary to state that it is not the purpose of the course to "cover" a particular field of study in the traditional sense, but rather to open up new vistas, along which one may travel with the guidance of specialists. The farther one proceeds in the study of some particular phase of public opinion, the more necessary is the counsel of students in other fields, whether they be statisticians, sociologists, publicists, or psychologists. Students of public opinion must be prepared to go for their information where they can find it.

In the preparation of a "Reference Guide to the Study of Public Opinion" the primary object has been to arrange the topics of interest in as natural and logical a sequence as possible. That will explain why, for example, a con-

sideration of the theoretical speculations concerning the nature of public opinion, studies of refined methods of opinion identification, and an examination of the complexity of latent factors conditioning opinion formation are not introduced at the beginning. The most obvious and perhaps the most significant thing about public opinion is the fact that it can to some extent be consciously managed, that it has been managed, and that never before in the history of the world has there been a period when the struggle for opinion control has been more intense than at present. Mankind did not wait for the final word as to the nature of electricity before trying to control and utilize it. Likewise the phenomenon of opinion management appeared long before serious attempts were made to dissect its character.

The study of public opinion may well begin, therefore, with a consideration of this phenomenon of opinion management, and the reasons for its peculiar significance at the present time, especially in the realm of politics. The public has always paid its homage to the successful managers of opinion, and this fact suggests, if it does not account for, the very real interest now displayed in the whole subject, not only by social scientists but by practitioners as well. Following a review of some of the more significant episodes in the history of public opinion management, particularly in this country, the focus of attention turns to those instrumentalities of opinion dissemination which have so profoundly affected the process of opinion management. Whether from the point of view of the public at large, or from the point of view of the opinion manager, an understanding of the facts regarding the press, electrical agencies of communication, motion pictures, and other means of opinion dissemination is necessary. For information of this character the studies and findings of students of journalism, sociology, psychology, as well as information collected by organizations within these industries, are indispensable.

Having surveyed the phenomenon of opinion management and acquired an understanding of the means available for its dissemination, one's interest centers upon the strategies and devices used to manage opinions. Knowledge of these has by no means been copyrighted by politicians, but is a part of the equipment of religious and economic leaders, as well as publicists, press agents, advertisers, and other practitioners. Opinion management still remains to a large extent an art, some would perhaps call it a black art, but from early times attempts have been made to discover its basic principles.

The study of strategy naturally raises the question as to what the nature of public opinion really is, and how public opinion may be identified. The

history of human thought is replete with prudential and speculative answers. Entire state systems have been constructed on a priori assumptions as to the nature of public opinion and the possibility of its identification. Recent researches by psychologists, sociologists, and students of politics have discredited many of these assumptions, so that the student of public opinion finds it necessary to revert to the use of more precise analyses, in short to a more scientific method in his thinking. The use of more exact method is often made difficult by the fact that the application of principles of precision is difficult, and often disturbs traditional thought molds. However, the crude indices of opinion so often used as a basis of public policy, while adequate in a pioneer democracy, are gradually giving way to more refined methods of statistical assessment. Considerable attention has been given to this problem of opinion identification by both political scientists and psychologists, resulting in a number of statistical studies of opinion distribution and opinion trends.

The necessity for greater precision, both in concepts and in method, becomes even more clear as the student of public opinion goes beyond the study of conscious opinion manipulation and seeks to discover the various factors and processes that condition public opinion at a given moment and over a period of time. The conscious attempt to mold public opinion proves to be but one of a complex multitude of factors that make our opinions what they are. The full explanation of a given state of public opinion is perhaps one of the most baffling of the problems that face the student of the subject. This fact is brought into clearer relief as one notes the increasing number of loose and superficial observations on the opinion formation process. The most serious and revealing studies of these factors have been made by sociologists and social psychologists, whose works suggest the multiplicity of hereditary and environmental influences that are decisive. As for the relative influence of these different factors, no complete answer has as yet been given.

Throughout the course of study emphasis will be laid upon the political significance of the topics treated, and the consideration of theoretical concepts will at first be subordinated to an observational and factual approach. The study of public opinion has something more than a mere academic usefulness; it is an essential part of the equipment of all participants in the "great game of politics," politician, administrator, law-maker, and judge.

## PLAN OF THE COURSE[1]

### THE LECTURES

I "Introduction"
II "The Political Significance of Public Opinion Management"
III "Leaders and Managers of Public Opinion"
IV "Early Evidences of Public Opinion Management in the United States"
V "The Development of Organized Opinion Management"
VI "Economic Regimentation and Public Opinion"
VII "The Technique of Organizing Pressure Groups"
VIII "Instruments of Opinion Dissemination—the Press"
IX "Instruments of Opinion Dissemination—the Radio"
X "Instruments of Opinion Dissemination—Motion Pictures"
XI "The Strategy and Technique of Opinion Management"
XII "Official Propaganda in War Time"
XIII "Official Propaganda in Peace Time"
XIV "Freedom of Opinion and Censorship"
XV "Unofficial Management of Official Opinion—Lobbying"
XVI "What is Public Opinion?"
XVII "The Identification of Public Opinion"
XVIII "Refined Methods of Identifying and Assessing Public Opinion"
XIX "Public Opinion Trends"
XX "Statistical Methods of Tabulating Opinion Distributions and Trends"
XXI "The Scientific Method and the Study of Public Opinion"
XXII "Factors Conditioning the Management of Opinions—Human Traits"

[1] It should be reemphasized that the plan of the course as herein outlined is merely tentative. Although the response of the students who participated in the experiment during the year 1933-34 has been genuinely gratifying, and the interest displayed by outsiders definitely encouraging, the author is fully aware of its shortcomings. The selection of bibliographical references leaves much to be desired. But even a brief trial has shown that the study of public opinion can be so organized that it will not only present a panoramic picture of important trends and problems, but may also contribute to a better understanding of the possibilities of precision in the social sciences. The bibliographical references are, for the most part, confined to English and American authors. The principal concern has been to establish a frame of reference into which the increasing amount of material dealing with the subject of public opinion may be classified and integrated. Unless otherwise indicated, the place of publication in each case is New York City.

XXIII "Factors Conditioning the Management of Opinions—Culture"
XXIV "Factors Conditioning the Management of Opinions—Institutions"
XXV "Conclusion"

### THE READING

Inasmuch as there exists no single text suitable for use as an introduction to the subject, a limited list of books has been selected, either because of the factual material they contain, the methods of study emphasized, or the points of view represented. The student's reading will be done more or less independently, and some choice will be allowed in the particular books selected. The books which have been checked may be found on reserve at the University Library, the others may be purchased at the University Book Store.

### GROUP 1

#### A

*Lumley, Frederick E., *"The Propaganda Menace,"* The Century Company, 1933, especially Chs. 3-15

Odegard, Peter H., *"The American Public Mind,"* The Columbia University Press, 1930

#### B

*Childs, Harwood L., *"Labor and Capital in National Politics,"* The Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1930, especially Chs. 1-3, 5-8

Herring, E. Pendleton, *"Group Representation Before Congress,"* The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1929

#### C

*Lippmann, Walter, *"Public Opinion,"* The Macmillan Company, 1922

*Merriam, Charles E., *"The Making of Citizens,"* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931

Wright, Quincy, Editor, *"Public Opinion and World Politics,"* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1933

### GROUP 2

#### A

Merriam, Charles E., *"New Aspects of Politics,"* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927

*Wallas, Graham, *"Human Nature in Politics,"* Alfred A. Knopf, 1920

B

*Dittmer, Clarence G., *"Introduction to Social Statistics,"* A. W. Shaw, Chicago, 1926

Elderton, William P. and E. M., *"Primer of Statistics,"* Macmillan, London, 1914

C

*Rice, Stuart A., *"Quantitative Methods in Politics,"* Alfred A. Knopf, 1928, especially Chs. 6, 8, 10, 12, 13

Robinson, Claude E., *"Straw Votes,"* The Columbia University Press, 1932, especially Chs. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7

*Gosnell, Harold F., *"Getting Out the Vote,"* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927

*White, Leonard D., *"The Prestige Value of Public Employment in Chicago,"* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929

INVESTIGATION

Each student will be asked to investigate a special phase of the subject of Public Opinion, the results of which may take the form of a written paper or an oral report, as, in the nature of the case, seems preferable. The preceptorials will be devoted very largely to discussions of these projects. The procedure in the case of different preceptorial groups will vary, but in general should follow this plan:

1. Selection of Topic
2. Discussion of Methods of Investigation
3. Reports on Information Collected
4. Discussion of Methods of Treating Data
5. Discussion of Methods of Presenting Data
6. Progress Reports
7. Final Reports

## A. THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLIC OPINION MANAGEMENT

### 1. Factors Responsible for Emphasis upon Opinion Management

The importance of public opinion is clearly evidenced by the extent and character of attempts made to mold and manage it. Of the many factors that account for the present emphasis upon public opinion management, the following are especially important: the spread of democracy and the extension of the suffrage, with the accompanying increase in popular participation in government; progress in education and a consequent reduction in illiteracy; improved methods of communication and human contact; technological and industrial developments resulting in large-scale production, mass consumption, and emphasis upon mass impression; and the rapid expansion of governmental activities necessitating increased dependence upon public support in matters of regulation and enforcement. The following references relate to these factors, and to the tendencies for which they are accountable:


Barnett, J. D., *"The Operation of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall in Oregon,"* 1915

Bryce, James, *"Modern Democracies,"* 2 Vols., 1921

Cruikshank, A. B., *"Popular Misgovernment in the United States,"* 1920

Cubberley, Ellwood P., *"A Brief History of Education,"* Boston, 1922

Ford, Henry J., *"Rise and Growth of American Politics,"* 1898

Graves, Frank P., *"A History of Education in Modern Times,"* 1925

Hamm, W. C., *"A Study of Presidential Votes," Political Science Quarterly,* 16: 50-67, 1901

Hattersley, Alan F., *"A Short History of Democracy,"* 1930

Hoe, Robert, *"A Short History of the Printing Press,"* 1902

Kales, A. M., *"Unpopular Government in the United States,"* 1914

McLaughlin and Hart, *"Cyclopedia of American Government,"* 3:8-47

Merriam, Charles E., and Overacker, Louise, *"Primary Elections,"* Chicago, 1928

Merriam, Charles E., and Gosnell, H. F., *"Non-Voting: Causes and Methods of Control,"* Chicago, 1924

Mills, Frederick C., *"Economic Tendencies in the United States,"* 1932

Oberholtzer, E. P., *"The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall in America,"* 1911

Porter, Kirk H., *"History of Suffrage in the United States,"* Chicago, 1918

President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *"Recent Social Trends in the United States,"* 2 Vols., 1932

*Recent Economic Changes in the United States,* report of the Committee on Recent Economic Changes of the President's Conference on Unemployment, Washington, 1929

Seymour, Charles, and Frary, D. P., *"How the World Votes,"* Springfield, Mass., 1918

Stanton, Elizabeth C., et al, *"History of Woman Suffrage,"* 1881-1902

Stanwood, E., *"Election Superstitions and Fallacies," Atlantic Monthly,* 110: 553-562, 1912

Thompson, John G., *"Urbanization—Its Effects on Government and Society,"* 1927

Wambaugh, Sarah, *"Plebiscites,"* 1920

————, *"Plebiscites Since the World War,"* Washington, 1933

## 2. Significance of Public Opinion for Specific Governmental Agencies

No governmental agency can well afford to ignore public opinion, and because of the factors above mentioned resulting in vigorous and widespread attempts to manage it, governmental agencies engaged in judicial administration and law enforcement, law-making, public administration, and the conduct of foreign relations—in fact practically all governmental agencies find it necessary to do likewise. The significance of public opinion management for specific governmental agencies is reflected in the increasing number of governmental press bureaus and publicity departments; the establishment of advisory councils to bring the public and the government closer together, and the increasing use of the radio, motion pictures, and the press by governmental authorities. Studies of crime reveal that an apathetic and uninformed public opinion is an important factor in the extent of its prevalence; attempts to improve the civil service, to promote reforms in legal procedure, to introduce progres-

sive legislation, to further desirable international policies—in short, to further the ends of government, have often foundered for lack of public support. In this connection there is a real need for a series of studies depicting in the case of particular governmental agencies why public support has not been forthcoming, and outlining methods and procedures for obtaining this support. The following references are suggestive but in no sense satisfy the need in this respect:

(a) Judicial Administration and Law Enforcement

Baldwin, Samuel E., *"The American Judiciary,"* 1905, Ch. 25

Cherington, Paul T., *"The Consumer Looks at Advertising,"* 1928, Ch. 8

Fenton, Frances, *"The Influence of Newspaper Presentations upon the Growth of Crime,"* Chicago, 1911

Graves, William B., *"Readings in Public Opinion,"* 1928, Ch. 30

Harris, Frank, *"Presentation of Crime in Newspapers,"* 1926

Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, *"The Illinois Crime Survey,"* 1929, Ch. 28

Moley, Raymond, *"Our Criminal Courts,"* 1930, Ch. 10

———, *"Politics and Criminal Prosecution,"* 1929, pp. 74-94

Pound, Roscoe, *"Criminal Justice in America,"* 1930

Sutherland, Edwin H., *"Public Opinion as a Cause of Crime," Journal of Applied Sociology,* 9: 51-56, 1924

U.S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement; Publication No. 2. Report on the Enforcement of the Prohibition Laws of the United States, Washington, 1931, pp. 48-51; 69-70. No. 13, Report on the Causes of Crime, Special Report of H. W. Anderson, pp. XV-LXVII

Waite, J. B., *"Criminal Law in Action,"* 1933

(b) Public Administration

Bentley, H., *"Maintaining Sustained Citizen Interest in Government," City Manager Yearbook,* 1933, pp. 178-193

Bernays, Edward L., *"Propaganda,"* 1928, Ch. 6

Beyle, Herman C., *"Governmental Reporting,"* Chicago, 1928

Creel, George, *"How We Advertised America,"* 1920

Essary, Jesse F., *"Covering Washington,"* Boston, 1927

Griffith, Ernest S., *"Current Municipal Problems,* Boston, 1933

Lindley, Ernest K., *"The Roosevelt Revolution,"* 1933

MERRIAM, CHARLES E., *"The Making of Citizens,"* Chicago, 1931

PAIGE, R. M., *"Organizations in the Field of Public Administration,"* Chicago, 1933

STEADMAN, ROBERT F., *"Public Health Organization in the Chicago Region,"* Chicago, 1930

WEBER, GUSTAVUS A., *"Organized Efforts for the Improvement of Methods of Administration in the United States,"* Baltimore, 1919

WHITE, LEONARD D., *"Public Administration,"* 1926, pp. 62, 439-444

————, *"The Prestige Value of Public Employment in Chicago,"* Chicago, 1929

————, *"Trends in Public Administration,"* 1933

————, *"The City Manager,"* Chicago, 1927, pp. 210-231

WOODS, ARTHUR, *"Policeman and Public,"* New Haven, 1919

(c) Legislation

BRYCE, JAMES, *"The American Commonwealth,"* 1922-23, Vol. II, Part IV

DICEY, ALBERT V., *"Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England During the 19th Century,"* 1905

HOLCOMBE, ARTHUR N., *"The Foundations of the Modern Commonwealth,"* 1923, Ch. 1

LOWELL, A. LAWRENCE, *"Public Opinion in War and Peace,"* Cambridge, 1923

————, *"Public Opinion and Popular Government,"* 1926

LUCE, ROBERT, *"Legislative Principles,"* 1930, Ch. 23

REINSCH, PAUL S., *"American Legislatures and Legislative Methods,"* 1920

(d) Conduct of Foreign Relations

ALLEN, LORD, *"Public Opinion and the Idea of International Government," International Affairs,* 13: 186-207, 1934

BAKER, RAY S., *"Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement,"* Garden City, 3 Vols., 1922

BROWN, P. M., *"Democracy and Diplomacy," North American Review,* 204: 691-704, 1916

BRYCE, JAMES, *"Modern Democracies,"* 2 Vols., 1921

————, *"International Relations,"* 1922, Lect. 6

BUELL, RAYMOND L., *"International Relations,"* 1929, Ch. 29

BULLARD, ARTHUR, *"Democracy and Diplomacy," Atlantic Monthly,* 119: 491-499, 1917

BUTLER, N. M., *"American Public and International Affairs," International Affairs,* 11: 618-632, 1932

CORWIN, EDWARD S., *"President's Control of Foreign Relations,"* Princeton, 1917

DOUGLASS, PAUL F., and BÖMER, K., *"The Press as a Factor in International Relations," Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science,* 162: 241-272, 1932

DRAPER, A. S., *"Report of the Williamstown Institute of Politics,"* 1926, pp. 104-112

FORD, HENRY J., *"Representative Government,"* 1924

FULLERTON, WILLIAM M., *"Problems of Power,"* 1914

GARNER, JAMES W., *"American Foreign Policies,"* 1928, pp. 14-20

HAYDEN, RALSTON, *"The Senate and Treaties,"* 1900

HODGES, CHARLES, *"The Background of International Relations,"* 1931, Ch. 24

LIPPMANN, WALTER, *"The Stakes of Diplomacy,"* 1917

MANN, HEINRICH, *"Dictatorship of the Mind," Foreign Affairs,* 12: 418-426, 1934

MATHEWS, JOHN M., *"American Foreign Relations,"* 1928, Ch. 11

MOWER, EDMUND C., *"International Government,"* Boston, 1931, Chs. 3, 11, 12

POOLE, DEWITT C., *"The Conduct of Foreign Relations under Modern Democratic Conditions,"* New Haven, 1924

SCOTT, J. F., *"Press and Foreign Policy," Journal of Modern History,* 3: 627-638, 1931

SPENDER, J. A., *"The Press and International Affairs," Yale Review,* 17: 485-498, 1928

STRATTON, GEORGE M., *"Social Psychology of International Conduct,"* 1929, Part I

WRIGHT, QUINCY, Editor, *"Public Opinion and World Politics,"* Chicago, 1933

ZIMMERN, ALFRED, *"Influences of Public Opinion on Foreign Policy,"* Problems of Peace, Third Series, 1929, Ch. 12

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. A statistical study showing the number of elections by countries, or in the case of the United States by states, each year for a given period of time, together with summaries of the extent of popular participation therein.
2. A study of the publicity work of specific governmental agencies, or groups of agencies, national, state, or local.
3. A study of the proportionate amount of newspaper publicity given to a selected list of governmental activities.
4. A study of the relative amount of periodical literature appearing during a given interval of time dealing with specific governmental activities.
5. An evaluation of official governmental publications on the basis of a standard set of criteria; such as form, content, extent read, and by whom.
6. Relation between the character of the work done by courts and the quantity of publicity received.

## B. LEADERS AND MANAGERS OF OPINION

Interest in public opinion management naturally leads to a consideration of the leaders and managers of opinion themselves. Studies of leadership have most frequently taken the form of personal biographies in which the heritage, development, interests, and activities of leaders have been depicted with varying degrees of insight. More recently, attempts have been made to analyze motives, characteristics, and types of outstanding personalities and allocate them to a broader frame of reference. Of considerable interest in this connection are some of the studies of political leaders by Merriam, Munro, Lasswell, and Gosnell. The search for a wider array of solid generalizations concerning the influence of personal eminence upon public opinion will naturally lead into many fields and involve comparative analyses of such factors as heredity, physical equipment, characteristics, type-trends, etc. The following list of references contains first a number of general studies, more or less analytical, followed by a number of biographies of leaders in politics, business, religion, and journalism which may be suggestive in launching further generalized investigation.

### 1. General Studies and Analyses


Allport, Floyd H., *"Social Psychology,"* Boston, 1924

Andrews, Lincoln C., *"Leadership, Military Training,"* Philadelphia, 1918

Babbitt, Irving, *"Democracy and Leadership,"* 1924

Baldwin, J. Mark, *"The Individual and Society,"* Boston, 1911, Ch. 5

Bentley, Arthur F., *"The Process of Government,"* Chicago, 1910, Ch. 17

Bernard, J., *"Political Leadership Among North American Indians," American Journal of Sociology,* 34: 296-315, 1928

Bernard, Luther L., *"Introduction to Social Psychology,"* 1926, Chs. 33-34

Bernays, Edward L., *"Propaganda,"* 1928

————, *"Crystallizing Public Opinion,"* 1923

Bogardus, Emory S., *"Fundamentals of Social Psychology,"* 1924, Part IV

Bowman, L. E., *"An Approach to the Study of Leadership," Journal of Applied Psychology,* 11: 315-321, 1927

Bryce, James, *"The American Commonwealth,"* 1924 edition
————, *"Modern Democracies,"* 1921, Vol. 2, Ch. 76
Carlyle, Thomas, *"Heroes and Hero Worship,"* Boston, 1907
Cooley, Charles H., *"Human Nature and the Social Order,"* 1922, Ch. 9
Cowley, W. S., *"Three Distinctions in the Study of Leadership," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 23: No. 2, 1928
Davenport, Frederick M., *"Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals,"* 1905
Davies, George R., *"Social Environment,"* Chicago, 1917, Chs. 4, 5
Davis, Jerome, *"A Study of One Hundred and Sixty-three Outstanding Communist Leaders,"* American Sociological Society, *Publications,* 24: 42-55, 1929
Edman, Irwin, *"Human Traits and Their Social Significance,"* Boston, 1920
Folsom, Joseph K., *"Social Psychology,"* 1931
Gosnell, Harold F., *"Boss Platt and His New York Machine,"* Chicago, 1924
Gowin, Enoch B., *"The Executive and His Control of Men,"* 1915
Graves, William B., *"Readings in Public Opinion,"* 1928, Chs. 22-24
Hankins, F. H., *"Individual Differences and Democratic Theory," Political Science Quarterly,* 38: 388-412, 1933
Hocking, W. E., *"Leaders and Led," Yale Review,* 13: 625-641, 1924
Johnson, Claudius O., *"Carter Henry Harrison,"* Chicago, 1928
Kent, Frank R., *"The Great Game of Politics,"* Garden City, 1923
Kretschmer, Ernst, *"The Psychology of Men of Genius,"* 1931
Lasswell, Harold D., *"Psychopathology and Politics,"* Chicago, 1930
————, *"The Study of the 'Ill' as a Method of Research into Political Personalities," American Political Science Review,* 23: 996-1002, 1928
LeBon, Gustave, *"The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind,"* 1922, Part II, Ch. 2
Lewis, George C., *"An Essay on the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion,"* 1849
Lippmann, Walter, *"Men of Destiny,"* 1927
Lipsky, Abram, *"Man the Puppet,"* 1925
Merriam, Charles E., *"Four American Party Leaders,"* 1926
————, *"Research Problems in the Field of Parties, Elections, and Leadership," American Political Science Review,* Supplement, 24: 36-38, 1930

MERRIAM, CHARLES E., and GOSNELL, H. F., *"The American Party System,"* 1929, Ch. 2.
MICHELS, ROBERT, *"Political Parties,"* 1915
MILLER, ARTHUR H., *"Leadership,"* 1920
MUNRO, WILLIAM B., *"Personality in Politics,"* 1924
MUNSON, EDWARD L., *"The Management of Men,"* 1921
PETERSON, JOSEPH, and DAVID, Q. J., *"Psychology of Handling Men in the Army,"* Minneapolis, 1919
RANDALL, JOHN H., *"The Making of the Modern Mind,"* Boston, 1926
ROOSEVELT, THEODORE R., *"Essays on Practical Politics,"* 1888
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TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Comparative study of the traits and skills of particular leaders.
2. A study of the beginnings of the leader; ancestral origins, parents, early surroundings, education, recreation, and interests.
3. A study of the physical characteristics of the leader, including biological and psychiatric data.
4. A study of the intellectual and temperamental traits of leadership.
5. A study of popular attitudes and opinions with reference to leadership in a particular situation; college, local community, or particular group organization.
6. Comparative study of the techniques and tactics of leaders.

7. A study of the reasons, public and private, for deference to leadership in a given situation.
8. Comparison of leadership traits in different occupations, and different groups.
9. A statistical study of legislative leadership, as evidenced by years of service, legislative positions held, etc.

## C. EARLY EVIDENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION MANAGEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The phenomenon of public opinion management is by no means peculiar to the twentieth century. In fact it has accompanied the evolution of the human race from earliest times, differing from generation to generation only so far as objectives and methods employed are concerned. From one point of view at least the "Epic of America" might well be written in terms of the ebb and flow of struggles for the control of minds by individuals and groups alike. Without attempting to trace in anything like a comprehensive manner this story of opinion conflict, one may well direct his attention to a few evidences of opinion management in the earlier annals of American political history; the opinion struggle of the American Revolution, and the contest for opinion control that accompanied the adoption of the Constitution. These episodes marked the culmination of a complex struggle, consciously carried on, for the management of public opinion by religious, economic, racial, social, and political interests, groups, and personalities.

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TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Study of the activities of particular organizations and groups in favor of and opposed to the American Revolution.
2. Study of activities of American agents abroad during and before the Revolution.
3. Study of legislative votes in Continental Congresses.
4. American press opinion and the American Revolution.
5. Foreign propaganda activities in the United States during and before the Revolution.
6. Geographical and occupational distribution of votes on the adoption of the Federal Constitution in the different states.
7. Press opinion and the ratification of the Constitution.

## D. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZED OPINION MANAGEMENT

Without in any way minimizing the importance of the individual as a leader and manager of opinion, one may not overlook the fact that most endeavors to mold public opinion on a large scale have been undertaken and supported by group organizations, either in existence at the time, or definitely created for the purpose. The success or failure of group activity is, of course, a resultant of individual initiative, and individual competence, but a study of the organization, characteristics, and methods employed by social, economic, religious, racial, and political groupings often furnishes the best key to an understanding of opinion trends and content. Few ideas of far reaching significance have flourished for long, unmobilized and unorganized in terms of individuals. There is a fertile field for investigation in the life history of these groupings. Political parties have played a well recognized rôle in opinion formation, but of no less importance are the numerous special interest and "idea" organizations in all fields of human activity. The references below relate to organized activities of peculiar political significance, resulting in many fundamental changes in our constitutional structure, laws, and political processes. The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Federal Constitution; the 18th, 19th, and 21st Amendments were concrete resultants of such organized opinion conflicts. Likewise the organized peace movement in this country has had an important effect upon the conduct of American foreign relations. These organized movements are only a selected few from a much longer list that might be prepared, and are presented as an inducement for further investigation in this field.

### 1. Political Parties and Organized Opinion Management

The amount of literature in this field is very large and most of the introductory text-books dealing with parties contain extensive reference lists, such as:


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## 2. Organized Opinion and the Slavery Controversy

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CLARKE, JAMES F., *"Anti-Slavery Days,"* 1883
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See also publications of:

Anti-Saloon League of America
Association Against the Prohibition Amendment
National Temperance Bureau

### 4. Organized Opinion and the American Peace Movement

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See also publications of:

American Legion
American Peace Society
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
English Speaking Union of the United States
League of Nations Non-Partisan Association

National Council for Prevention of War
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

## 5. Organized Opinion and Woman Suffrage

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See also publications of:
Daughters of the American Revolution
General Federation of Women's Clubs
National League of Women Voters

### TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Studies of other movements from the point of view of opinion management, movements that have had considerable political significance, such as the civil service reform movement, agitation for the initiative, referendum, and recall, the short ballot, the reform of court procedure, antitrust activities, inflation, governmental efficiency and economy, etc., etc.
2. Statistical and analytical study of the groups and organizations back of particular planks in party platforms.
3. Detailed studies of the policy-formulating methods of particular organizations seeking to propagate ideas.
4. Study of the organized impacts upon particular governmental agencies.
5. Studies of propaganda mortality, the reasons for the failure of given campaigns.
6. Studies designed to show the extent and character of organized opinion management in particular areas.
7. Comparison and contrast of the relative effectiveness of "single idea" and "multiple idea" organizations.
8. Studies of racial propaganda organizations.

## E. ECONOMIC REGIMENTATION AND PUBLIC OPINION

Of all organized groups significant in the process of opinion formation—political, professional, economic, social, racial, and religious—economic groupings are particularly important. Although the trend towards economic regimentation has not been as pronounced in the United States as in some foreign countries, notably Germany, Italy and France, recent years have witnessed a marked expansion in the membership, activities, and political influence of organized labor, business, and agriculture, in this country. For many years such groups have exercised considerable influence upon the administrative, legislative and judicial branches of the government, and under the aegis of the present administration, they have been given a degree of official recognition and responsibility far surpassing that existing heretofore. In contrast to the "idea" groups which seek to further one or more specific policies, these economic groupings represent a fundamental set of cleavages, and a satisfactory understanding of public opinion content and trends presupposes a knowledge of them. The references below relate to only three of the more basic economic categories, and might well be supplemented by similar data regarding other groups, racial, religious, social, or professional.

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See also publications of:

American Federation of Labor
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, etc.

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National Live Stock Producers' Association, etc.

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TUGWELL, REXFORD G., *"The Industrial Discipline and the Governmental Arts,"* 1933
VALENSTEIN, LAWRENCE, and WEISS, E. B., *"Business under the Recovery Act,"* 1933

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Studies of economic regimentation in foreign countries.
2. Studies of the opinion solidarity of economic groups.
3. Comparison of the opinions of organized and unorganized workers, business men, and farmers.
4. Studies of the methods of regimenting opinions—opinion management within the organization.
5. Evaluation of the relative influence of economic interests and organizations upon individual behavior and opinions.
6. Study of the "New Deal" methods of regimenting economic opinions.
7. Ranking of economic motives and interests.

## F. THE TECHNIQUE OF ORGANIZING PRESSURE GROUPS

In view of the importance attached to organized opinion by leaders and managers of opinion, it is rather surprising and disappointing to discover how incomplete and unsatisfactory our knowledge is concerning the specific techniques and principles employed in creating and maintaining group organizations. The student of government, for example, frequently takes for granted the existence of states, and leaves to the historian the task of tracing their chronological development, more or less disregarding the conscious procedures followed in their establishment. Moreover, the maintenance of group cohesion, in the case of states, parties, political machines, and other group organizations presents a problem of practical importance to the statesman and group leader, which tends, oftentimes, to become obscured in the minute examination of structural details, and rule-making processes. What methods of recruiting members, selecting leaders, determining policies, financing group activities, preventing disintegration—in short, what methods of creating and preserving group cohesion are to be employed, are questions of vital importance to the practitioner in the field of politics and opinion control. Information of this sort has not been systematized to any great extent but may be gleaned from biographical studies of opinion managers, and state and unofficial group histories. The following list of references is merely suggestive, and may well be extended in the course of further investigation.

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Dubois, Richard P., *"L'Organisation Technique d'l'Etat,"* Paris, 1930

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## 2. Application of Specific Techniques in the Case of Parties and Political Machines

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See also the publications of particular organizations for data as to method and technique.

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1. An enumeration and classification of professional organizers of opinion, such as public relations counsel, organization secretaries, political bosses, etc., etc.
2. Comparative studies of methods of recruiting members for particular organizations.
3. Comparative studies of group finance.
4. Comparative studies of methods of selecting group leaders.
5. Analyses of methods of maintaining group morale.
6. A study of the character and purposes of research activities of selected group organizations.
7. The preparation of a specific plan for organizing a group to further a selected object.
8. Studies of particular techniques employed to maintain group cohesion —such as multiplication of offices, creation of external conflict situations, adjudication of disputes, internal publicity, creation of systems of financial allegiance, the use of force or terror, the provisions for popular participation, etc., etc.
9. Detailed studies of particular organizing campaigns.

## G. INSTRUMENTS OF OPINION DISSEMINATION—THE PRESS

The press is one of the principal instruments used in disseminating and managing opinions. In its broadest sense the word is often employed to refer, not only to printing presses and the arts of written presentation, themselves, but also to the host of editors, publishers, owners, advertisers, reporters, and contributors, who give to the technical equipment, and to the published results of its use, the opinion-content and significance they have. In this sense the press exists as an institutionalized fiction in the minds of many. It is the "press" which says this and that, rather than particular groups and individuals. In its narrower sense, the press is only an instrument, the product of human genius, by means of which individuals seek to disseminate facts, information, and opinion. For the student of public opinion, some knowledge of its technical development and present possibilities is indispensable, but of even greater significance is an understanding of the uses to which it is and may be put. Critics and commentators have always drawn a sharp line of distinction between the press as a mere instrument and the various influences that are brought to bear upon its uses, and it will assist, in any evaluation of the press, to keep this distinction in mind. The following references deal with the newspaper primarily, its historical development and present status, but other agencies of printed opinion dissemination are of equal importance, such as books, periodicals, trade journals, and the like, and may well serve as objects of investigation.

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## 3. The Foreign Press

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See also publications of:

American Association of College News Bureaus
American Newspaper Publishers Association
Associated Press
Standard News Association
The American Society of Newspaper Editors
United Press

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Studies of newspaper content, in the case of particular newspapers, the papers of a given area, state, city, etc. Such studies might deal with the paper as a whole; news, editorials, advertisements, special features, etc.
2. Studies of newspaper control; newspaper finance; control by advertisers, etc.
3. Studies of newspaper reading habits of a selected group; including, possibly, reading habits in general.
4. Studies of free publicity, such as that obtained by individuals and groups.
5. Studies of particular news-gathering and news-distributing agencies.
6. Analyses of political photography in newspapers.
7. Creation of a scale for ranking newspapers or trade journals on the basis of a selected set of criteria.
8. Studies of private news agencies.

9. Studies of foreign correspondents of American newspapers.
10. Studies of newspaper associations within the industry.
11. Studies of the party affiliations of newspapers.
12. Studies of the comparative influence of the newspapers, periodicals, professional journals.
13. Studies of the relationship of the press to the government under the New Deal.

## H. INSTRUMENTS OF OPINION DISSEMINATION—THE RADIO

The use of the radio as a means of opinion dissemination has developed so rapidly during the past decade that it is difficult to assess its place among the other agencies of inter-communication. Numerous studies have been made of the history of the radio industry, its economic, and technical problems, as well as its relation to the government, but there is a marked variation in the value of these studies for the student of public opinion as the following references will show. The radio has not only enhanced the possibilities of opinion management, making possible an ever-widening area of mass impression and influence, but it has affected profoundly the character of our political processes. The problem of control is more vital perhaps than in the case of newspapers, due to the physical limitations placed upon its use. In general, the radio has not become such an institutionalized fiction as the press. It is somewhat easier to dissociate the instrumentality itself from the individuals and groups that control and employ it. A thorough study of the industry, not only from its economic aspects, but also from its political and sociological side is yet to be written.

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*Yearbook of Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony*

See also publications of:
Association of Radio Manufacturers
Institute of Radio Engineers
National Broadcasting Company
National Electrical Manufacturers Association
National Radio Press Association
Radio Corporation of America

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Studies of radio program content.
2. Studies of the political use of the radio.

3. Studies of radio licensing.
4. Studies of international broadcasting.
5. Analysis of radio listening habits.
6. Studies of advertising techniques over the radio.
7. Studies of public attitudes with reference to radio programs.
8. Studies of radio financing.
9. Studies of particular organizations within the radio industry.
10. Studies of the influence of radio upon various habit patterns.
11. Studies of the area of influence of particular radio broadcasting stations.
12. Studies of radio control in foreign countries.
13. Studies of radio-set ownership in the United States.
14. Studies of radio periodicals and reading habits.

## I. INSTRUMENTS OF OPINION DISSEMINATION—MOTION PICTURES

Motion pictures constitute the third of the three great instruments of opinion dissemination. The stage, the platform, and the pulpit continue their traditional function, but in comparison with the press, the radio, and the motion pictures, they tend to become proportionally less significant. The following references deal with moving pictures from many points of view: historical, critical, descriptive, and analytical. As a valuable aid to opinion management they have found a place not only in the equipment of the commercial entertainers but also among the tools of the advertiser, educator, politician, and public official. Of particular interest are the studies of the comparative effectiveness of visual as contrasted to auditory tools of mass impression; the facts of motion picture control; and the relative merits of various use-techniques employed. As the struggle for opinion domination becomes more intense, the question, who is to control the use of the press, radio, and motion pictures becomes vital from the social point of view.


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WILLEY, MALCOLM M., and RICE, S. A., *"Communication Agencies and Social Life,"* 1933

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Federal Motion Picture Council in America
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Motion Picture Board of Trade
Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America
National Advisory Council on Radio in Education
National Association of the Motion Picture Industry
National Board of Review of Motion Pictures

The following contain material of value:

*Film Daily, Year Book*
*Filmgoers Annual*
*Motion Picture Almanac*
*Motion Picture Herald*

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Analyses of motion picture subject matter.
2. Studies of the effects of American films abroad.
3. Studies of the moving picture attendance habits of selected groups; college students, men and women, children, various occupational groups.
4. Studies of public attitudes with reference to the motion pictures.
5. Analysis of news-reel subject matter.
6. Evaluation of organized efforts to improve motion pictures.
7. Studies of the activities of specific organizations within the motion picture industry.
8. The use of moving pictures by governmental and political agencies.
9. The motion picture industry and the New Deal.
10. Studies of motion picture finance.
11. Studies of motion picture control.

## J. THE STRATEGY AND TECHNIQUE OF OPINION MANAGEMENT

The art of opinion management has been practised by experts and amateurs alike from earliest times, and is an important factor in individual and group success in all areas of human activity. Nevertheless attempts by students of psychology, public speaking, advertising, and politics to discover its basic principles and reduce them to the precision of scientific standards have met with indifferent success. Only too frequently the successful opinion manager is the one least able to transmit his power to others. Needless to say, this dearth of reliable principles is in no way attributable to indifference to the problem, nor to a generalized unwillingness to attack it. From earliest times suggestive, if not reliable information has been supplied concerning the techniques to be employed. But no mere method, in itself, will guarantee success. The result in a specific instance is always the product of a multiplicity of factors, many of which escape conscious control. Without in any way satisfying the need for further precision in the exposition of methods of opinion management, the following references present some leads marked out by the more outstanding investigators in this field. Care has been taken to distinguish the more general analyses from studies in particular fields. In doing this, some of the reality is lost, however, for the student should realize that success in a particular situation is a function, not of a specific technique, but of a combination of conscious and latent factors, which only in combination can explain the process of opinion management. No attempt has been made to supply more than a few titles under each of the categories of specific techniques. The list itself is tentative, and is designed to encourage a more careful analysis of these and others that are or may be employed.

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See also text-books dealing with political parties for additional references. Much of the material cited in other sections of this pamphlet will be found pertinent.

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Studies of techniques used in specific propaganda campaigns.
2. Studies of tactics employed by specific opinion managers; public relations counsel, preachers, military leaders, agitators, politicians.
3. Compilation of studies of technique by students of politics since the time of Machiavelli.
4. Study of methods employed in various situations; legislative assemblies, conferences, religious assemblies, before the jury, in election campaigns, etc.
5. Compilation and classification of methods formulated by advertisers.
6. Detailed studies of the application of specific techniques.
7. Cataloguing the studies of psychologists, psychoanalysts, pathologists, and others in this field.
8. Studies of the effect of using certain methods.
9. Summarization of studies made by advertising agencies.

## K. OFFICIAL PROPAGANDA IN WAR-TIME

The early years of the twentieth century were a golden age for business advertising. The increased expenditures resulting therefrom led to extensive researches in this field and the publication of numerous studies dealing with advertising methods, the effects of advertising, and the possibilities of conscious attempts to mold public opinion. The United States, even before the War, demonstrated its genius in this field. Accustomed to large-scale campaigns to increase the sale of products and establish favorable popular reactions to business practices, America was ready for launching one of the most remarkable campaigns of opinion management in the history of the world. No other episode in the history of propaganda has received the critical attention which the world-wide attempts to mold opinion during the years 1914-1918 have received. Students in many countries have investigated the problem, and in retrospect the fateful war years emerge into an ever clearer, ever more realistic picture. The mobilization of propaganda resources by governments on a large scale emphasized in a striking manner the potentialities of opinion management. And the techniques employed have been carried over into the post-war period. Numerous archives of propaganda material have been assembled, the most notable being that at Stanford University. Of considerable interest to the student of propaganda is the extensive bibliography being prepared on the subject by the Committee on Pressure Groups and Propaganda of the Social Science Research Council.

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See also publications of:

Conference on the Cause and Cure of War
National Council for the Prevention of War
World Peace Foundation
Women's International League
Daughters of the American Revolution
American Legion
Navy League

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Analyses of propaganda methods, employed during wars other than the World War, such as the American Civil War, the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War, etc., etc.
2. Analyses of revolutionary propaganda.
3. Studies of propaganda methods employed in conflict situations generally, such as trade rivalry, strikes, racial conflicts, etc., etc.
4. Studies of particular agencies and organizations promoting or opposing military and naval propaganda.
5. Studies of public attitudes on war, military training, preparedness, the causes of war, etc., etc.
6. Studies of the propaganda activities of the War and Navy Departments.

## L. OFFICIAL PROPAGANDA IN PEACE TIME

Governmental agencies have never confined their efforts to mold public opinion to war-time. The exercise of political authority has always been more or less contingent upon popular support, regardless of the form of government, or the degree of popular participation constitutionally provided for. The desire for a favorable press, the emphasis upon improved types of governmental reporting, the pleas for an informed public opinion, the use of symbols, flags, uniforms, parades, etc., all evidence the desire on the part of those in official position, to obtain popular support. European governments have, of late, given more attention to the maintenance of a given state of public opinion, than has been the case in the United States, where homage is still paid to the myth that it is the duty of statesmen to reflect public opinion, while others lead it. Nevertheless, a careful examination of the work of governmental agencies in this country reveals that an increasing attention is being paid to the problem of public relations. Possibly no administration has adopted a more pervasive propaganda campaign than the present one. With the resources at their command those in official position are capable of wielding extensive control over the minds of citizens, a control that becomes increasingly powerful as the operations of government become more complex and far-reaching. The mobilization of public opinion to further particular governmental policies has become, in fact, a requisite of successful governmental operation. The following list of references merely suggests the lines along which further investigation may be made.

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2. Studies of governmental press bureaus.
3. Studies of governmental uses of the radio and moving pictures.
4. Studies of foreign propaganda organizations in the United States.
5. Studies of governmental press conferences.
6. Analyses of the extent and control by official agencies over public education and civic training.
7. Analysis of propaganda methods used to carry into effect specific governmental policies.
8. Studies of the official use of propaganda in executing foreign policies.
9. Studies of official control over the opinions of civil servants.
10. Analysis of specific methods employed by official agencies; naval displays, conferences, etc., etc.

## M. FREEDOM OF OPINION AND CENSORSHIP

Official agencies of government not only direct and manage public opinion affirmatively by means of consciously disseminated publicity, but also negatively by means of censorship. Although the first amendment to the Federal Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and press, this freedom is not an absolute grant of authority or license to print or preach anything, especially in time of war. Moreover, through its power over interstate commerce and its postal power, the federal government is constantly supporting a minimum standard of decency and order in the dissemination of opinion by these means. Although not regarded as censorship in the strict sense of the term, the control now exercised over the radio by the Federal Government, and the supervision of moving pictures by states and local governments, influence in a decisive manner the dissemination of ideas through these media. Of considerable interest to the student of public opinion is the high degree of official control exercised over the press and the other agencies of communication in foreign countries, particularly Russia, Italy, and Germany. The following references relate only incidentally to these foreign practices, and are confined primarily to studies of the problem as it relates to the United States.


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1. Studies of the control exercised by federal agencies over the radio, use of the mails, etc., etc.
2. Studies of the activities of state agencies of control; moving picture boards of censorship, municipal boards of censorship.
3. Studies of particular private agencies interested in the problem of censorship, such as American Civil Liberties Union, the Free Speech League, etc., etc.
4. Studies of public attitudes with respect to censorship.
5. Studies of press, radio, and motion picture control in foreign countries.
6. Analyses of unofficial methods of control over opinion dissemination.
7. Studies in the history of censorship in the United States.
8. Studies in the law of freedom of speech and censorship.
9. Analysis of press, radio, and moving picture freedom under the New Deal.

## N. UNOFFICIAL MANAGEMENT OF OFFICIAL OPINION—LOBBYING

Attention has already been directed to various types of leaders and managers of opinion, as well as to both the ephemeral and fundamental group cleavages exemplified by organizations seeking to mobilize and mold opinions. The picture of their activities would not be complete, however, without some reference to the phenomenon of lobbying. The importance to groups and individuals alike, of some degree of control over official opinion, has led to a more or less well recognized procedure for bringing pressure to bear upon legislation, administration, and public officials generally. The government reveals itself, therefore, not only as an agent, but also as an object of opinion management. Lobbying, in company with the word propaganda has come to be associated with practices which are often regarded as reprehensible. Modifications in methods are constantly taking place, however, and the line to be drawn between good and bad lobbying has yet to be drawn. For the student of public opinion, a realistic view of the extent and character of lobbying activities is essential, as a basis for evaluating present tendencies in the direction of opinion control.


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3. Studies of lobbying activities centering around a given bill or legislative program.
4. Studies of lobbying activities centering around a particular governmental agency—legislative committee, department, commission, etc.
5. Study of popular attitudes towards the lobby.
6. Studies of official attitudes towards the lobby.
7. Studies of possible methods of remedying the evils of lobbying.

## O. WHAT IS PUBLIC OPINION?

The phrase "public opinion" appeared in the literature of Politics, certainly as far back as the time of John of Salisbury. It received added significance with the rise and spread of democratic government, and was subjected to a variety of interpretations and explanations. Those who have employed the phrase have by no means agreed upon its precise connotation. The literature in the field of public opinion is replete with careless, prudent, realistic, and philosophical definitions. In many cases such definitions have been made unnecessarily obscure by the attempt to define, explain the nature and content of, and to indicate the process of public opinion formation all at the same time. Moreover, those who have approached the subject from a background of political and legal studies have often differed in their viewpoint from those trained in the disciplines of sociology, psychology, and social psychology. The following references are designed to furnish a basis for arriving at an understanding of these several points of view. Out of them, it may be possible to frame a working definition that will be both useful and precise.

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2. Analysis of the use of the term by newspaper writers.
3. Critical analyses of the use of the term by a selected list of students who have carefully tried to define the term.
4. Analysis of what the term public opinion connotes in the minds of a selected group.
5. Studies of the "group mind" concept in the social sciences.
6. Analysis of statements as to what public opinion ought to be.
7. Studies of proposed distinctions between attitudes, sentiments, feelings, opinions, etc.

## P. THE IDENTIFICATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

Accompanying the rise of popular participation in government and an increased emphasis upon rule by public opinion, there arose the need for some device by means of which public opinion could be identified. Voting was the method generally adopted, and the elaborate election and balloting procedures with which we are familiar began their development. In spite of numerous refinements and elaborations in the form of ballots, together with mechanical improvements in casting and recording votes, the election process as it operates today constitutes a crude and rather restricted method for ascertaining what public opinion is. Other indices, which in particular instances have value, are the press, straw votes, legislative roll-calls, the questionnaire, the interview—all of which may be regarded as rough indices of public opinion. Mention should also be made of the policies and resolutions adopted by significant group organizations, which may also be used and are used to chart the trends of opinion for large sectors of the population. Some managers of opinion seem to show a canny ability to ascertain the trend of public opinion, but few attempts have been made to study and appraise their techniques. The evolution of these various methods of identifying opinion, and the search for improved devices, better adapted to the needs of a government in this age of electricity and wireless, present an interesting problem for the student of politics and public opinion.

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TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Studies of possible indices of public opinion.
2. An evaluation of particular indices commonly employed—elections, editorials, straw votes, etc.
3. Correlation studies of public opinion as determined by elections, legislative votes, questionnaires, editorials, etc., etc.
4. Analyses of special techniques employed by politicians, public officials, and others for ascertaining the state of public opinion.
5. Investigation of possible methods for ascertaining organized opinions.
6. Studies of legislative voting to determine the extent to which they represent private opinions.
7. Evaluation of proportional representation, the initiative, and referendum, and plebiscites as devices for ascertaining public opinion.
8. Popular attitudes regarding the various opinion-determining devices.
9. Studies of the questionnaire and the interview as techniques for ascertaining public opinion.
10. Analysis of the extent to which the press is used as an index of public opinion.

## Q. REFINED METHODS OF IDENTIFYING AND ASSESSING PUBLIC OPINION

Within the last ten or fifteen years numerous attempts have been made to provide more refined methods for identifying opinions than the cruder indices generally employed. In order to differentiate various shades of opinion, to distinguish different degrees of opinion intensity, as well as to render the accumulation of opinion data more comprehensive and susceptible to quantitative and statistical treatment, various, and in some cases complicated devices have been invented for collecting and treating opinion data. Many of the opinion scales and measuring devices are so involved, however, that in their present form they have a very limited usefulness. In certain situations, nevertheless, they have demonstrated their superiority over the more familiar and cruder indices. Interest in these refined methods of opinion identification is not confined to students of politics, but has been taken up by educators, psychologists, sociologists, and others. The following list of references is presented in chronological order, inasmuch as it may be of some value to keep in mind the stages of progress that have been made. In many instances the method of assessment tends to overshadow the value of the results in terms of practical information secured. The experiments, however, may well lead to some discoveries of real value to the public official and the student of political processes.

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RICE, S. A., *"Some Applications of Statistical Method to Political Science Research," American Political Science Review,* 20: 313-329

ZELENY, L. D., *"A Measure of Social Opinions of Students," Journal of Applied Sociology,* 11:56-64

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ANDERSON, W. A., *"The Occupational Attitude and Choices of a Group of College Men," Social Forces,* 6: 278-283

BAIN, R., *"Religious Attitudes of College Students," American Journal of Sociology,* 32: 762-770

BIRD, C., *"The Influence of the Press upon the Accuracy of Report," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 22: 123-129

COWDREY, K. M., *"Measurement of Professional Attitude Differences between Lawyers, Physicians, and Engineers," Journal of Personal Research,* 5: 131-141

GOSNELL, H. F., *"Getting Out the Vote"*

HARPER, M. H., *"Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American Educators,"* Teachers College, *Contributions to Education,* No. 294

HOTCHKISS, G., and FRANKEN, R. B., *"Measurement of Advertising Effects"*

LUNDBERG, G. A., *"The Demographic and Economic Basis of Political Radicalism and Conservatism," American Journal of Sociology,* 32: 719-732

MAURY, J. C., *"World Citizenship—a Measurement of Certain Factors Determining the Formation and Judgment of International Affairs*

NEUMANN, G. B., *"A Study of International Attitudes of High School Students,"* Teachers College, *Contributions to Education,* No. 239

RICE, S. A., *"Stereotypes," Journal of Personnel Research,* 5: 267-276

SYMONDS, P. M., *"What Is an Attitude?" Psychological Bulletin,* 24: 200-201

THURSTONE, L. L., *"Psychophysical Analysis," American Journal of Psychology,* 38: 368-389

———, *"A Mental Unit of Measurement," Psychological Review,* 34: 415-423

———, *"A Law of Comparative Judgment," Psychological Review,* 34: 273-286

———, *"Equally Often Noted Differences," Journal of Educational Psychology,* 18: 289-293

———, *"Attitudes Can Be Measured," American Journal of Sociology,* 33: 529-545

WATSON, G. B., *"A Test of Fair-Mindedness," Industrial Psychology,* 2: 84-92

———, *"A Supplementary Review of Measures of Personality," Journal of Educational Psychology,* 18: 73-87

WHITE, R. E., *"Penal Law and Public Opinion"* (Columbia University thesis)

YOUNG, D., *"Some Effects of a Course in American Race Problems on the Race Prejudice of 450 Undergraduates at the University of Pennsylvania," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 22: 235-242

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ALLPORT, G. A., *"A Test for Ascendance-Submission," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 23: 118-136

BOGARDUS, E. S., *"Immigration and Race Attitudes"*

EGGAN, F. R., *"An Experimental Study of Attitude Toward Races and Nationalities"*

LAPIERE, R. T., *"Race Prejudice, France and England," Social Forces,* 7: 102-111

REINHARDT, J. M., *"Students and Race Feeling," Survey,* 61: 239-240

RICE, S. A., *"Quantitative Methods in Politics"*

THURSTONE, L. L., *"An Experimental Study of National Preferences," Journal of General Psychology,* 1: 405-425

WAGNER, M. E., *"Superstitions and Their Social and Psychological Correlations among College Students," Journal of Educational Sociology,* 2: 26-36

*1929*

ALLPORT, G. W., *"The Composition of Political Attitudes," American Journal of Sociology,* 35: 220-238

LUNDBERG, GEORGE A., *"Social Research,"* Ch. 20

REMMERS, H. H., *"The Measurement of Interest Differences between Students of Engineering and of Agriculture," Journal of Applied Psychology,* 13: 105-118

SMITH, H. N., *"The Construction and Application of a Scale for Measuring Attitudes about Prohibition,"* Chicago

THURSTONE, L. L., *"Theory of Attitude Measurement," Psychological Review,* 36: 226-241

THURSTONE, L. L., and CHAVE, E. J., *"The Measurement of Attitude,"* Chicago

WHITE, L. D., *"The Prestige Value of Public Employment,"* Chicago

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BAIN, READ, *"Theory and Measurement of Attitudes and Opinions," Psychological Bulletin,* 27: 357-379

FLETCHER, R. and M., *"The Frequency Distribution of Voting in St. Louis," Social Forces,* 8: 427-429

GILLILAND, A. R., *"A Study of the Superstition of College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 24: 472-479

RICE, S. A., *"Statistics in Social Studies"*

VETTER, G. B., *"The Study of Social and Political Opinions," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 25: 26-39

————, *"The Measurement of Social and Political Attitudes and Other Related Personality Factors," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 25: 149-181

WILLOUGHBY, R. R., *"A Sampling of Student Opinion," Journal of Social Psychology,* 1: 164-169

*1931*

DROBA, D. D., *"Effects of Various Factors on Militarism and Pacifism," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 26: 141-154

Droba, D. D., *"A Scale of Militarism and Pacifism," Journal of Educational Psychology,* 22: 96-111

————, *"Methods Used for Measuring Public Opinion," American Journal of Sociology,* 37: 410-423

Katz, D., and Allport, E. H., *"Student Attitudes,"* Syracuse

Lasswell, H. D., *"The Measurement of Public Opinion," American Political Science Review,* 25: 311-327

Murphy, G., and L. B., *"Experimental Social Psychology,"* Ch. 9

Rice, S. A., *"Methods in Social Science"*

Tibbitts, C., *"Majority Votes and the Business Cycle," American Journal of Sociology,* 36: 596-607

Wooddy, C. H., *"Local Option and Public Opinion,"* U.S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Official Records,* 5: 61-89

*1932*

Beyle, H., *"A Scale for the Measurement of Attitude Toward Candidates for Elective Governmental Office," American Political Science Review,* 26: 527-545

Biddle, W. W., *"Propaganda and Education"*

Robinson, E. S., *"Are Radio Fans Influenced: an Experiment in Measuring Changes in Public Opinion," Survey,* 68: 546-547 *ff.*

*1933*

Beyle, H. C., *"The Editor Votes," American Political Science Review,* 27: 597-611

Bogardus, E. S., *"Measuring Public Opinion," Sociology and Social Research,* 17: 465-472

Gosnell, H. F., *"Statisticians and Political Scientists," American Political Science Review,* 27: 392-403

Hart, H., *"Changing Opinions about Business Prosperity: a Consensus of Magazine Opinion in the United States," American Journal of Sociology,* 38: 665-688

*1934*

Kolstad, Arthur, *"A Study of Opinions on Some International Problems"* (Columbia University thesis)

Peterson, Ruth C., and Thurstone, L. L., *"Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children"*

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. An enumeration and classification of studies of student opinions; opinions of racial, economic, religious, and geographical groups; sex, income, and age groups, etc., etc.
2. Study of methods employed to show the distribution of opinions within a selected group.
3. Analyses of methods employed to ascertain variations in opinion or attitude intensity.
4. Study of methods employed for constructing opinion scales.
5. Evaluation of the possible practical uses of refined methods of opinion assessment.
6. A classification and summary of the objectives sought by originators of refined methods of assessment.

## R. STATISTICAL METHODS OF TABULATING AND PRESENTING OPINION DATA

Much of the opinion data derived from election statistics, legislative votes, questionnaires, opinion scales, and the like, readily lend themselves to statistical treatment. In fact, the quantity of data, in order to be of any significance whatever, is usually so large that some understanding of the principles of statistical tabulation and graphic representation is necessary. The use of such devices is, however, only a means to an end, and that end is the most careful interpretation, and clearest presentation of the data possible. The extent to which statistical or graphic treatment is expedient will depend upon the types of data and their quantity, which a particular investigator unearths. Of considerable value to the student of public opinion is familiarity with distribution and trend curves. The use of the former lends precision to the interpretation of opinion data, the latter makes possible a clearer presentation of changes in opinion. Caution should be exercised in the use of statistical devices, however, beyond the point of diminishing returns. As an aid to the student they are at times of inestimable value. The following references include some of the more general texts in the field of statistics, as well as a few studies illustrating the possibilities of statistical applications.

### 1. Distribution Curves


Chaddock, Robert E., *"Principles and Methods of Statistics,"* Boston, 1925

Dittmer, Clarence G., *"Introduction to Social Statistics,"* Chicago, 1926

Elderton, William P., and E. M., *"Primer of Statistics,"* 1914

Fisher, Arne, *"An Elementary Treatise on Frequency Curves,"* 1923

Fisher, Ronald A., *"Statistical Methods for Research Workers,"* 1928

Fletcher, R., and M., *"The Frequency Distribution of Voting in St. Louis," Social Forces,* 8: 427-429

Florence, Philip S., *"The Statistical Method in Economics and Political Science,"* 1929

Harper, Floyd H., *"Elements of Practical Statistics,"* 1930

Schluter, William C., *"How to Do Research Work,"* 1927

SECRIST, HORACE, *"An Introduction to Statistical Methods,"* 1925

RICE, S. A., *"The Political Vote as a Frequency Distribution of Opinion," Journal of the American Statistical Association,* 19: 70-75, 1924

THURSTONE, LOUIS L., *"Fundamentals of Statistics,"* 1925

## 2. Trend Curves

GOSNELL, HAROLD F., *"Why Europe Votes,"* Chicago, 1930

HART, HORNELL, *"Changing Social Attitudes and Interests,"* Ch. 8 in *"Recent Social Trends,"* prepared by President's Research Committee on Social Trends, 1933

HOLCOMBE, ARTHUR N., *"Political Parties of Today,"* 1924

MUNRO, W. B., *"The Pendulum in Politics," Harpers,* 154: 718-725, 1927

RICE, STUART A., *"Quantitative Methods in Politics,"* 1928, Chs. 17, 20, 21, 22

RUSSELL, J. T., and WRIGHT, QUINCY, *"National Attitudes on the Far Eastern Controversy," American Political Science Review,* 27: 555-577, 1933

STEINER, JESSE F., *"The American Community in Action; Case Studies of American Communities,"* 1928

TIBBITTS, CLARK, *"Majority Votes and the Business Cycle," American Journal of Sociology,* 36: 596-606, 1931

TITUS, C. H., *"Voting in California Cities, 1900-1925," Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly,* 8: 383-400, 1928

WOODDY, C. H., and STOUFFER, S. A., *"Local Option and Public Opinion," American Journal of Sociology,* 36: 175-205, 1930

## 3. Graphic Representation

ADAMS, THOMAS S., *"Manual of Charting,"* 1924

GOSNELL, HAROLD F., *"Why Europe Votes,"* Chicago, 1930

KARSTEN, K. G., *"Charts and Graphs,"* 1923

PAULLIN, CHARLES O., *"Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States,"* 1932

### TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. A summary of recent applications of distribution curves, trend curves, graphs, and charts in the study of political phenomena.

2. Studies of types of data in the field of public opinion that lend themselves to statistical treatment.
3. Actual use of distribution curves, trend curves, charts, and graphs in the presentation of specific opinion data; such as opinions of a particular group on selected topics, legislative votes, the results of questionnaires, etc., etc.
4. Investigation of the possibility of establishing correlations between opinion data and other units of social measurement.

## S. THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD AS APPLIED TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICS

A distinction is frequently drawn between inductive and deductive methods of study. As a matter of fact, however, the two processes of reasoning usually, if not always, go together. If they are not used in combination dire consequences are likely to follow. Many so-called scientific studies of public opinion have shown an unwarranted emphasis upon the inductive method with the result that many tedious hours devoted to collecting and treating quantitative data have been wasted. On the other hand, the literature of politics and public opinion is replete with generalizations, scholastic syllogisms, and hasty assumptions, the erroneous character of which could have been revealed if more care had been used in collecting and examining data with which to test them. Not until recently were real attempts made to test, either by experimentation, careful observation, or the use of more precise methods of analysis, many of these tenets of political fundamentalism. In fact some students of politics went so far as to state that it was impossible to add greater precision to political concepts than Aristotle used. At the same time others went to the regrettable extreme of claiming all sorts of possibilities for the application of scientific methods to politics, with ludicrous results in some cases. Meanwhile marked progress is being made in the direction of greater precision both in definition and testing. If new laws of political behavior are not emerging with predicted rapidity, at least many of the old assumptions are being exploded. This is especially true with respect to our understanding of the processes by which public opinion is formulated. Theories concerning human nature, which have been at the basis of so much political philosophy, are easier to invent than to verify. Human nature yields its secrets very reluctantly, a circumstance which makes the study of it as fascinating as it is difficult. The time has long since passed, however, when the student of public opinion can be satisfied with conclusions that have not been tested in every possible way. At the same time it should be remembered that the essence of science is precision, not a particular technique, and the student should welcome whatever device can be employed to bring this precision into the vocabulary of his studies. The following references deal with the scientific method, so-called, in its broader aspects, but an understanding of its nature, potentialities, and limitations is fundamental to the study of public opinion.

## 1. The Nature of the Scientific Method


Catlin, George E. G., *"The Science and Method of Politics,"* 1927

Clarke, Edwin L., *"The Art of Straight Thinking,"* 1929

Cooley, William F., *"Principles of Science,"* 1912

Hader, J. H., and Lindeman, E. C., *"Dynamic Social Research,"* 1933

Merriam, Charles E., *"New Aspects of Politics,"* Chicago, 1928

Munro, W. B., *"Modern Science and Politics," Yale Review,* 16: 723-738, 1927

Ogburn, W. F., and Goldenweiser, A., *"The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations,"* 1927

Rice, Stuart A., *"Quantitative Methods in Politics,"* 1928

Rueff, Jacques, *"From the Physical to the Social Sciences,"* Baltimore, 1929

Schmeckebier, L. F., *"The Statistical Work of the National Government,"* 1925

Spahr, W. E., and Swenson, R. J., *"Methods and Status of Scientific Research,"* 1930

Webb, Sidney, and B., *"Methods of Social Study,"* 1932

White, Reuel C., *"Social Statistics,"* 1933

Wolfe, Albert B., *"Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method,"* 1923, Ch. 9


## 2. Possibilities of Applying the Scientific Method to Politics


Bernard, L. L., *"Scientific Method and Social Progress," American Journal of Sociology,* 31: 1-18, 1925

Bogardus, Emory S., *"The New Social Research,"* Los Angeles, 1926

Carpenter, W. S., *"Methods of Political Reasoning," American Journal of Sociology,* 31: 213-226, 1925

Catlin, George E. G., *"The Delineation and Mensurability of Political Phenomena," American Political Science Review,* 21: 255-270, 1927

————, *"A Study of the Principles of Politics,"* 1930

Florence, Philip S., *"The Statistical Method in Economics and Political Science,"* 1929

Gee, Wilson P., *"Research in the Social Sciences,"* 1929, especially Ch. 9

GOSNELL, H. F., *"Statisticians and Political Scientists," American Political Science Review,* 27: 392-404, 1933

LASSWELL, HAROLD D., *"Psychopathology and Politics,"* Chicago, 1930

LUNDBERG, GEORGE A., *"Social Research,"* 1929

MARTIN, R. C., *"The Municipal Electorate: a Case Study," Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly,* 14: 193-237, 1933

MERRIAM, CHARLES E., *"New Aspects of Politics,"* Chicago, 1928

ODUM, HOWARD W., and JOCHER, K. C., *"An Introduction to Social Research,"* 1929

*"Reports of the Second National Conference on the Science of Politics," American Political Science Review,* 19: 104-126, 1925

*"Reports of Round Table Conferences," American Political Science Review,* 21: 394-395, 399-401, 1927

RICE, STUART A., *"Statistics in Social Studies,"* Philadelphia, 1930

————, *"Methods in Social Science,"* Chicago, 1931

WALLAS, GRAHAM, *"Human Nature in Politics,"* 1921

WHITE, REUEL C., *"Social Statistics,"* 1933

### 3. Obstacles to the Application of the Scientific Method

BEARD, CHARLES A., *"Political Science,"* in GEE, WILSON P., *"Research in the Social Sciences,"* 1929, Ch. 9

CORWIN, EDWARD S., *"The Democratic Dogma and the Future of Political Science," American Political Science Review,* 23: 569-593, 1929

ELLWOOD, C. A., *"The Uses and Limitations of the Statistical Method in the Social Science," Scientific Monthly,* October 1933

GOOCH, R. K., *"Government as an Exact Science," Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly,* 9: 252-263, 1928

HOBSON, J. A., *"Free Thought in the Social Sciences,"* 1926

RICE, STUART A., *"Methods in Social Science,"* Chicago, 1931, 84-85

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Investigation of political and opinion data susceptible to quantitative treatment.
2. Evaluation of attempts to introduce greater preciseness in political and public terminology.

3. Evaluation of objections to the use of the scientific methods in public opinion studies.
4. Possible applications of psychology to politics.
5. Possible applications of sociology to politics.
6. Possible applications of psychopathology to politics.

## T. FACTORS CONDITIONING THE MANAGEMENT OF OPINIONS—HUMAN TRAITS

The conscious attempt to manage opinions has played and will doubtless continue to play a rôle of increasing significance in the political life of the state. It is, however, but one of a complexity of factors and influences that determine the state of public opinion at any given time. For the student of public opinion who seeks a clearer understanding of the processes of opinion formation, as well as for the politician who desires to practice the art of opinion management, knowledge of these latent factors which condition deliberate attempts to mold public opinion is indispensable. One set of factors, often of decisive importance, may be catalogued under the general heading of human traits. Early political writings were often punctuated by shrewd and in some cases sage observations regarding human nature, but in recent times the serious search for valid generalizations has for the most part been left to the psychologists. This division of labor has borne fruit in many instances, but students of politics have often been slow to revise their traditional assumptions in the light of new discoveries. The following references are listed for the purpose of indicating some of the assumptions regarding human nature held by leading political writers, and the more recent findings in the fields of psychology and biology relative to personality traits and individual differences. In this day of academic specialization the student of public opinion who approaches the subject from the political viewpoint must of necessity accept these findings more or less on faith, but he cannot afford to ignore them and cling persistently to assumptions which have not kept pace with progress in other fields. A satisfactory understanding of public opinion is necessarily predicated upon a knowledge of the individual, his physical equipment, his fundamental patterns of response, his habits, and his emotional and mental characteristics.

### 1. Human Nature and Politics


Bentley, Arthur F., *"The Process of Government,"* Chicago, 1908, Chs. 1-2

Kallen, Horace, *"Political Science as Psychology," American Political Science Review,* 17: 181-203, 1923

Merriam, Charles E., *"The New Aspects of Politics,"* Chicago, 1927

Rivers, William H. R., *"Psychology and Politics,"* 1923

Wallas, Graham, *"Human Nature in Politics,"* 1921, Ch. 4
Wolfe, Albert B., *"Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method,"* 1923, especially the Introduction and Ch. 1

Most political philosophers have taken for granted, if they have not themselves developed, theories of human nature. Of interest in this connection are such writings as the following:

Aristotle, *"The Politics of Aristotle,"* Jowett translation, 1888
Bentham, Jeremy, *"A Fragment on Government,"* Montague edition, 1891
Hobbes, Thomas, *"Leviathan,"* Morley edition, 1887
Locke, John, *"Of Civil Government,"* Everyman's edition, 1924
Marx, Karl, *"Capital,"* 1887
Ritchie, David G., *"Darwinism and Politics,"* 1889
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, *"Social Contract,"* Everyman's edition, 1927

## 2. Personality Traits and Differences

Adler, Alfred, *"Understanding Human Nature,"* 1927
Bagby, English, *"The Psychology of Personality,"* 1928
Berman, Louis, *"The Glands Regulating Personality,"* 1921
Bernard, Luther L., *"Instinct,"* 1925
Brigham, Carl C., *"A Study of American Intelligence,"* Princeton, 1923
Burnham, William H., *"The Normal Mind,"* 1924
Cannon, Walter B., *"Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear, and Rage,"* 1920
Child, Charles M., *"Physiological Foundations of Behavior,"* 1924
Conklin, Edwin G., *"Heredity and Environment in the Development of Men,"* Princeton, 1923
Cooley, Charles H., *"Human Nature and the Social Order,"* 1902
————, *"Social Organization,"* 1909
Dashiell, John F., *"Fundamentals of Objective Psychology,"* Boston, 1928
Dewey, John, *"Human Nature and Conduct,"* 1922
Freeman, Frank N., *"Mental Tests,"* Boston, 1926
Galton, Sir Francis, *"Hereditary Genius,"* 1914
Gordon, Ronald G., *"Personality,"* 1926
Hocking, William E., *"Human Nature and its Remaking,"* New Haven, 1918

Holt, Edwin B., *"The Freudian Wish,"* 1915
Jastrow, Joseph, *"Character and Temperament,"* 1915
Jennings, Herbert S., *"The Biological Basis of Human Nature,"* 1930
Josey, Charles C., *"The Social Philosophy of Instinct,"* 1922
Jung, Carl G., *"Psychological Types,"* 1926
Kretschmer, Ernst, *"Physique and Character,"* 1925
Marston, William M., *"Emotions of Normal People,"* 1928
Odegard, Peter H., *"The American Public Mind,"* 1930
Ogburn, William F., *"Social Change,"* 1922
Parmelee, Maurice F., *"The Science of Human Behavior,"* 1913
Rabock, A. A., *"The Psychology of Character,"* 1927
Root, W. T., *"The Psychology of Radicalism," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 19: 341-356, 1925
Schoen, Max, *"Human Nature,"* 1930
Schwesinger, Gladys C., *"Heredity and Environment,"* 1933
Stockard, Charles R., *"The Physical Basis of Personality,"* 1931
Watson, John B., *"Behaviorism,"* 1924
Young, Kimball, *"Source Book for Social Psychology,"* 1927

The following text-books in psychology, social psychology, and sociology are a few of the many that might be listed, which contain valuable summary discussions, and additional bibliographical material:

Allport, Floyd H., *"Social Psychology,"* 1924
Bernard, Luther L., *"Introduction to Social Psychology,"* 1926
Bogardus, Emory S., *"Fundamentals of Social Psychology,"* 1924
Brierley, Susan S., *"An Introduction to Psychology,"* 1923
Bushee, Frederick A., *"Principles of Sociology,"* 1923
Dawson, Carl A., and Gettys, W. E., *"Introduction to Sociology,"* 1929
Dunlap, Knight, *"Social Psychology,"* Baltimore, 1926
Folsom, Joseph K., *"Social Psychology,"* 1931
Gault, Robert H., *"Social Psychology,"* 1923
Howard, George E., *"Social Psychology; An Analytical Reference Syllabus,"* Lincoln, Neb., 1910
Kroeber, Alfred L., *"Anthropology,"* 1923
Krueger, Ernest T., and Reckless, W. C., *"Social Psychology,"* 1931
McDougall, William, *"Introduction to Social Psychology,"* Boston, 1926

THOMAS, WILLIAM I., *"Source Book for Social Origins,"* Chicago, 1909
TODD, ARTHUR J., *"Theories of Social Progress,"* 1918
WARREN, HOWARD C., *"Human Psychology,"* Boston, 1919
WATSON, JOHN B., *"Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist,"* Philadelphia, 1924
WOODWORTH, ROBERT S., *"Psychology, a Study of Mental Life,"* 1929
YOUNG, KIMBALL, *"Social Psychology,"* 1930

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Historical studies of views concerning human nature held by eminent political philosophers.
2. Studies of the personality traits of selected leaders and managers of opinion.
3. Evaluation of theories concerning the formation of personal opinions, such as those of King, Lowell, Bryce, in the light of modern psychology.
4. Analysis of the effect of particular biological traits upon the formation of opinions.
5. Summary survey of fundamental patterns of response to which attention is paid by leading advertisers—reflexes, drives, desires, wishes, etc.
6. Classification of suggested possibilities of applying the findings of modern psychology to politics.
7. Studies of the effect of bodily defects upon individual attitudes.
8. Analysis of the influence of particular psychological traits—alertness, intelligence, etc., upon opinions and attitudes.

## U. FACTORS CONDITIONING THE MANAGEMENT OF OPINIONS—CULTURE

This section directs attention to the influence of culture, primarily, the ideational content of it, upon public opinion. Careful consideration of the opinion-forming process reveals the fact that a veritable complex of forces, hereditary and environmental, intermingle to produce a final opinion result. The individual opinions that may be expressed at election time, in discussion groups, and in the press, far from being the simple product of conscious choices between two or more alternatives are seen to be verbalizations having a much more obscure and complex origin. Custom, fashion, tradition, folkways, mores, beliefs, and social attitudes, are stimuli continually modifying and conditioning individual responses. The importance of these cultural factors in the social environment has been studied most carefully by sociologists and anthropologists, and the following list of references will introduce the student to some of their more significant contributions. These studies are supplemented by some interesting, if not always reliable, observations upon the cultural traits of specific groups, a list which may easily be extended.

### 1. General Studies of Culture


Angell, Norman, *"The Public Mind,"* 1927

Bagehot, W., *"Physics and Politics,"* 1916

Bell, Clive, *"Civilization,"* 1928

Boas, Franz, *"The Mind of Primitive Man,"* 1911

Browne, Lewis, *"This Believing World,"* 1927

Burgess, Ernest W., *"Personality and the Social Group,"* Chicago, 1929

Chapin, Francis S., *"Cultural Change,"* 1928

Chase, Stuart, *"The New Deal,"* 1932

Christensen, Arthur, *"Politics and Crowd-Morality,"* 1915

Cole, Stewart G., *"The History of Fundamentalism,"* 1931

Comish, Newel H., *"The Standard of Living,"* 1923

Conway, Sir Martin, *"The Crowd in Peace and War,"* 1915

Cooley, Charles H., *"Social Organization,"* 1909

Dewey, John, *"Human Nature and Conduct,"* 1922

————, *"The Public and Its Problems,"* 1927

——, *"How We Think,"* 1910

Dixon, Roland B., *"The Building of Cultures,"* 1928
Edman, Irwin, *"Human Traits and Their Social Significance,"* Boston, 1920
Ellwood, Charles A., *"Cultural Evolution,"* 1927
Folsom, Joseph K., *"Culture and Social Progress,"* 1928
Garth, Thomas R., *"Race Psychology,"* 1931
Gobineau, Joseph A., *"The Inequality of the Human Race,"* 1915
Goldenweiser, Alexander A., *"Early Civilization,"* 1922
Hankins, Frank H., *"Racial Basis of Civilization,"* 1926
Hobhouse, Leonard T., *"Social Development,"* 1924
Holmes, Samuel J., *"The Trend of the Race,"* 1924
Keller, Albert G., *"Social Evolution,"* 1915
Kirkpatrick, Clifford, *"Religion in Human Affairs,"* 1929
LeBon, Gustave, *"The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind,"* 1925
Lippmann, Walter, *"The Phantom Public,"* 1925
————, *"A Preface to Morals,"* 1929
Lowie, Robert H., *"Primitive Society,"* 1920
Lumley, Frederick E., *"Means of Social Control,"* 1925
Mackay, Charles, *"Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds,"* Boston, 1932 edition
Martin, Everett D., *"The Conflict of the Individual and the Mass in the Modern World,"* 1932, Chs. 6-8
————, *"The Behavior of Crowds,"* 1920
McDougall, William, *"The Group Mind,"* 1920
MacIver, Robert M., *"Community,"* 1924
Nystrom, Paul H., *"Economics of Fashion,"* 1928
Ogburn, William F., *"Social Change,"* 1923
Park, Robert E., and Miller, H. A., *"Old World Traits Transplanted,"* 1921
Parrington, Vernon L., *"Main Currents in American Thought,"* 1927-1930
Pound, Roscoe, *"Interpretations of Legal History,"* 1923
Randall, John H., *"Our Changing Civilization,"* 1929
Read, Coweth, *"The Origin of Man and His Superstitions,"* 1921
Ross, Edward A., *"Social Control,"* 1906
Sherman, Mandel, and I., *"The Process of Human Behavior,"* 1929
Shipley, Maynard, *"The War on Modern Science,"* 1927

SOROKIN, PITIRIM, *"Social Mobility,"* 1927
SUMNER, WILLIAM G., *"Folkways,"* 1906
THOMAS, WILLIAM I., *"Source Book for Social Origins,"* Boston, 1909
TOZZER, ALFRED M., *"Social Origins and Social Continuities,"* 1925
TROTTER, WILLIAM, *"Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War,"* 1926
WALLAS, GRAHAM, *"Our Social Heritage,"* New Haven, 1921
———— *"The Great Society,"* 1914
WHEELER, RAYMOND H., *"The Laws of Human Nature,* 1932
WILLIAMS, JAMES M., *"Our Rural Heritage,"* 1925
————, *"The Foundations of Social Science,"* 1920
WISSLER, CLARK, *"Man and Culture,"* 1923
YOUNG, KIMBALL, *"Source Book for Social Psychology,"* 1928, Ch. 5
ZNANIECKI, FLORIAN, *"The Laws of Social Psychology,"* Chicago, 1925,

## 2. Specific National and Group Cultures

BETTS, GEORGE H., *"The Beliefs of 700 Ministers,"* 1929
BRYCE, JOHN, *"The American Commonwealth,"* 1924 edition, Ch. 81
KING, WILLFORD I., *"Wealth and Income of the People of the United States,"* 1915
LYND, ROBERT S., *"Middletown, a Study in Contemporary American Culture,"* 1929
MADARIAGA, SALVADOR DE, *"Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards,"* 1931
MCDOUGALL, WILLIAM, *"Is America Safe for Democracy?"* 1921
ODUM, HOWARD W., *"Social and Mental Traits of the Negro,"* 1910
O'HIGGINS, HARVEY J., and REEDE, E. H., *"The American Mind in Action,"* 1924
ORTEGA Y GASSET, JOSÉ, *"The Revolt of the Masses,"* 1932
PERRY, BLISS, *"The American Mind,"* Boston, 1912
PILLSBURY, WALTER B., *"The Psychology of Nationalism and Internationalism,"* 1919
RIPLEY, WILLIAM Z., *"Races of Europe,"* 1899
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Hankins, Frank H., *"An Introduction to the Study of Society,"* 1928
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TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Studies of the opinions, beliefs, attitudes, customs, etc., of particular economic, racial, educational, religious, and other groups.
2. Survey and summary of particular national traits as catalogued by prudential writers and students.
3. Studies of particular community habits, such as reading, recreation, voting, purchasing, travelling, etc.
4. Studies of the effect of a specific culture such as that of a given university, fraternity, club, neighborhood, etc., upon individuals from the time that they have first been exposed to it.
5. An analysis of the methods employed by anthropologists for studying a particular culture.
6. Bibliographical study of observations made with reference to American behavior patterns.
7. A study of the variations in advertising technique in different countries, presumably designed to take into account differences in culture.
8. A study of the opinions of a group of individuals, such as consular and diplomatic officials, foreign news correspondents and persons who have travelled abroad, with reference to foreign national characteristics.
9. Studies of the effect of travel abroad, one year's university attendance, residence in New York City, Philadelphia, Washington, or other large city upon personal opinion.
10. Analyses of particular crowd cultures.
11. An evaluation of so-called "laws of human nature."

## V. FACTORS CONDITIONING THE MANAGEMENT OF OPINIONS—INSTITUTIONS

The following references relate to the social significance of institutions, and the part played by them in the molding of attitudes and opinions. The list includes a few of the many treatises on sociology and anthropology in which this phase of the opinion-forming process has been emphasized. This is followed by a limited series of studies of family, religious, and educational institutions, a list which can do no more than point the way to similar works dealing with other institutions such as the economic and the political. An institution cannot be divorced from the individuals that comprise it, nevertheless, there is an advantage in keeping in mind the more persistent groupings following more or less crystallized patterns of behavior. Fictional or otherwise, they continue to exercise their influence upon human behavior and opinions.

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JUDD, CHARLES H., *"The Psychology of Social Institutions,"* 1926
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## 2. Studies of Family, Religious, and Educational Institutions

*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences,* Vol. 160, March 1932, *"The Modern American Family"*
BOYD, WILLIAM, *"History of Western Education,"* London, 1932
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————, *"Education and the Modern World,"* 1932
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### TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. Classification study of particular categories of institutions.
2. Studies of public attitudes toward particular institutions.
3. An evaluation of certain so-called "institutional fallacies."
4. Studies of family, church, and college influence upon attitudes and opinions.
5. Studies of definitions of institutions.
6. Studies of family, church, and college habits, customs, traditions, etc., in a particular community.
7. Studies of the influence of particular institutional concepts upon attitudes, such as the political and economic.
8. An evaluation of the possibility of ranking the influence of different institutions upon opinion formation.
9. Influence of the political, educational, religious, and economic views of parents upon children.

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